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DRASTIC FACTS

About Our Indians and Our Indian System

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BERKELEY DAILY GAZETTE PRINT

What's the Matter With Our Indians?

Why They Are Not Productive, Competent Citizens; and Are Dependent Bureau-Nursed Wards Costing the Government $12,000,000.00 Annually.

(From Berkeley Daily Gazette, Berkeley Cal., Feb. 16, 1917.)

Richard H. Pratt, brigadier general U. S. A., retired, founder and for 25 years at the head of the Carlisle Indian school, and who is visiting his daughter, Mrs. Stevick, 1616 La Vereda street, gave an address on "The American Indian" at an open meeting of the Men's Brotherhood of Trinity Methodist church last evening, in which he declared that the Indian is the weakest member of the national family as the result of pernicious activity on the part of the national Indian bureau to maintain control over Indian wealth.

General Pratt based his concluisons on 50 years of responsible Indian duties as an army officer. At the Carlisle Indian school he had pupils from every tribe of Indians in the United States, and from Alaska and Porto Rico.

In his address General Pratt said:

"The last annual report of the Indian bureau just out tells us it has 335,753 Indians enrolled, excluding Alaska.

"If we go back to the Indian office reports a few years, we find it was then under 275,000. The Indians by amalgamation have been bleaching out and the full bloods decreasing rapidly, some tribes having scarcely a full-blood left. In this bureau enumeration are included two United States senators and two representatives in congress, and thousands of others that are equally misplaced on the Indian record. Their being included is caused entirely by the tribal property held in trust by the grasping bureau system.

"There are 52,556 families. Of these 42,116 families are in permanent homes. The character of a very large number of these homes is best illustrated by the fact that 16,505 have no floors; 10,446 families live in teepees, tents and temporary structures.

"One hundred and eighty thousand five hundred and four are alleged to be citizens of the United States. As the whole 335,753 includes the 180,504 and all (including their property) are under bureau domination, the quality of their citizenship borders on sarcasm.

"There are 656 missionaries at work, among them, having 617 churches. That is an average of one missionary and church for each 500 Indians.

"The tribal property is alleged to have a total value of $653,418,462. This is about $1,946 per capita. Both the property and the individuals are the very life of the bureau, and therefore incite it to endless control.

"The United States employs 16,706. Their earnings were $1,350,425, which gives an average of $80 per year each, or $6.66 per month.

"Nine thousand two hundred and forty-six are employed by private parties. The income of these was $1,027,952, which is an average for each of $111 per year, or $9.25 per month, one-third above the income of those who work for the government.

"Thirty-five thousand eight hundred and twenty-three are farming a total of 678,527 acres and raised products valued at $5,293,719. The average acres per farmer is therefore 19 and the average per capita income $147.

"Forty-three thousand three hundred and nine Indians are stock raisers using 30,605,228 acres of grazing land and their stock is valued at $28,824,439. This gives stock raisers a per capita of 700 acres and a stock value of $665.

Rations, wagons and implements were gratuitously issued during the year costing $432,747.

"The numbers engaged and the gross earning of each class in the several bureau nursed industries outside of farming and stock raising are given. These figures, which give results shown in this table I divide to show the per capita average income per year and month:

	Earned	Average Year	Earnings Month
4,059 basket makers	$ 48,930	$12	$1.00
3,134 bead workers	35,033	10	.90
3,673 blanket weavers	318,618	86	7.30
289 lace makers	4,693	16	1.33
1,948 pottery makers	11,088	5	.43
2,939 fishermen	180,712	61	5.08
3,770 woodcutters	252,514	67	5.50
7,144 all others	355,345	49	4.08
Total	$1,206,833		

"These industries were taken up under bureau oversight fifteen years ago and given the titles of "Indian Art," "Native Industries," and "Home Industries," and have been much emphasized ever since. Their lack of effectiveness as resources for self-support by the results presented are plain. That they are effective in enforcing the segregating methods of the bureau system is no less glaringly plain.

"The declared earnings of the Indians for the year, outside of stock raising, aggregated $8,878,929. As the government gave $11,000,000 for expenses of the Bureau and its methods of care over them, the earnings were $2,000,000 less than the appropriation. Logically the total cost of the Indians was the appropriation and their earnings aggregating $20,000,00 of which the Indians were guided to earn $9,000,000.

"The data of stock raising income is not given but the Bureau purchases of stock with tribal funds were on a vast scale, and this expenditure should be added to the grand total. Heretofore there have been many discouraging results along this line and it will take several years to develop what will happen this time.

"These figures represent the results of 40 and more years' persistent bureau efforts to make its tenacious tribal segregating system a success.

"For the ensuing year the bureau asks congress for $12,330,000. Forty years ago the yearly appropriation for the care of the Indians was $4,000,000, and twenty years ago it was $8,000,00. The conclusions in regard to the efficiency of the system and all hope for any material success of the management are to my mind clearly indicated by these results.

"Fifty years of responsible Indian contact as an army officer combined with the necessity for a constant consideration of their case has compelled the following conclusions.

"Our Indians are in exactly the condition we as a nation have placed them, and none of the disappointing circumstances of their case are to be rightly attributed to them.

After all these years they are still in tribes, vast numbers living in most disheartening poverty, half of them unable to speak the language of the country, most of them depressed and hopeless because they are continued helplessly unequal to meeting the white man in the affairs of life, practically all are a burden to the nation for care and supervision of themselves or property and a vastly undue proportion with health greatly impaired through mistreatment.

Erratic System.

"All these conditions are directly chargeable to the false and erratic system of managing in tribal masses which we inaugurated and have blindly enforced.

"Only through environing our Indians in our civilization, as we always have all immigrants and by the same methods training them into capable, individual citizens, can we end our so-called Indian problem. No other course will save them to the country or their property to themselves. Experience establishes beyond a peradventure that this solution under proper intention of management is easily reached.

"No man is born with language, ideas, incentives, aspirations, superstitions, or other such qualities. All these and his abilities as well are acquired through opportunities and from those who control during growth. Raised in aboriginal environment all development is inevitably aboriginal. Raised in civilized surroundings, civilization just as surely results. How could it possibly be otherwse? The influences while under development are entirely responsible.

"For many years the United States has been absolute in its control over the Indians. It has segregated them remote from any participation in our affairs, and has enforced the dominance and poverty of opportunity of their old tribal life. The government has gone so far as to command and control all their resources and assume all responsibility for their special support, education and industrial training, requiring it to be mostly in the environment of this exclusve tribal life and has always influenced them back into continuing that life. They have been imperiously kept from all large contact with our American civilization and only allowed such civilizing influences as trickled to them through a constantly changing and varying purposed, ill-informed and inadequate oversight.

"In our Declaration of Independence we gave a resetting and pledged our subordination to the Golden Rule. In our constitution we elaborated this high declaration. Gross violation of these principles have caused about all of our negro and Indian troubles.

"The negroes had the tremendous advantage of large paternal oversight and contact with us and to acquire our industries. Although we brought them from the torrid zone across a great ocean in vast numbers, and they have increased to about ten millions, they all, as a result of that system, have gained useful civilized lives, the most comprehensive of languages, and admission to citizenship. Nothing of their aboriginal habits remain and none can speak their old languages. Their industry under our direction accomplished much of the development of a dozen states and added billions of dollars to the nation's wealth.

Un-American Conditions.

"On the contrary, we have always estranged our Indians whom we found here by driving them away and imprisoning them on reservations. On every Indian reservation there are shameful conditions of abject poverty and ignorance. When against these conditions we place the fact that we as one of the greatest and richest governments on earth, through violating our noblest principles brought about these un-American conditions, and then realize that we, all personally, as responsible members of that government, are, in large part, blamable for our lack of interest our

cheeks must tingle with shame and our indignation burn.

"'But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.'"

"The Indain is the weekest brother in our national family, and therefore needs, most liberally, the kind of help that will bring him to real citizenship ability. The great trouble is that the system has educated the Indian into his present conditions and he must now be educated out of them.

"The issuing of unearned rations for long years, was pauperizing hire to remain aboriginal, and all giving of annuities and stock are insidious persuasives to continue Indian and tribal under system control.

"Purely Indian schools and allotting land tribally contigious enforces race exclusiveness, notwithstanding the attempted higher plane.

"Relieving Indians from all taxation is part of the loaves and fishes we give which induces them to hang together and remain dependent, and in all cases where they come into community with our own people who have to pay all local expenses for schools, roads, and county government, prejudice and animosity are bred towards them in their overtaxed neighbors.

"Having the system's supreme administrative authority in Washington remote and haughty and difficult to reach naturally brings long delay and almost renders nugatory any appeal for rights even though the way were unobstructed and they have the intelligence to make such appeal.

"The new scheme of the system to loan individual Indians government money under their promise 'to reimburse' serves more to tighten the system's grip, and hire them to cling together, than it does to develop in them independent American manhood.

"The finest results would follow if they were equally persuaded, hired or forced to quit their tribes and individually go out among our people to learn and use our industries and absorb our life by becoming a very part of that life. If it is right to persuade, hire and force them to hang together in tribal masses, why is it not more righteous for their and our far higher good and the relief of both races to persuade, hire and force them to quit tribal life and migrate into the activities of civilized life?

Racially Segregated.

"What would happen if we used the Indian system on all foreigners who immigrate to us, and racially segregated them under a special bureau supervision? When would they become Americans and citizens?

"Frequent changes in the administrative head fixes little responsibility on any one chief and renders any continuity of purpose and material progress impossible. Not one of the dozen Indian commissioners in control during the past forty years knew by any previous experience anything material about Indians, or had any conception or enlarged vision of what was best when he undertook supervision of our Indian service.

"The power over a billion dollars in money and untaxed property belonging to the Indians, and the development of the three hundred thousand of them through six thousand employes aspiring less to the making of Indians into capable citizens than to promoting their own enlarging and endless service, and the distribution to that end of twelve million dollars of goernment appropriation annually, always has been used as a reward for political party service. This explains how our indurated and thoroughly bad tribalizing system so easily perpetuates its domination.

"Late as it is, we should begin now and kindly enthuse both the Indians and our people to work together for mutual, personal and common good. All best living begins by serving and by being rightly influenced, the Indians have no desire to be an exception.

"There was one government Indian school, which, prior to twelve years ago, enrolled over a thousand pupils annually and during vacation each year placed out in selected Ameri-

can families six hundred to eight hundred boys and girls from all tribes to work on farms, the boys to learn farming and the girls to learn housework. This was in fullest co-operation with the Indian policy of forcing all Indians to become farmers. More than three hundred were left in these good homes each winter, and by working out of school hours earned their own way and attended hundreds of different schools with white youth, where they were received as comrades without exception. The highest results followed, in their losing all prejudice against us and more quickly learing the English language and all farm and household industries and the practical duties of American citizenship and this eventuated in many cases in their entirely abandoning tribal life and becoming a very part of this new life. This school incited and helped its ambitious gradutes to undertake higher education in the normal and high schools, colleges and universities of the country, and this gave to the country courageous and able citizens and leaders of ability, high purpose and best example of results from the Indian race. The growth of the system was rapid because of the proven worth of the young Indians, and could easily have been increased to cover all the few thousands of our Indian youth. The students earned for themselves above $30,000 each year and were welcomed everywhere.

Wide Opportunity Urged.

"This movement threatened the very foundations of the Indian system and, ergo, that system tried to destroy the school, but public sentiment would not permit, so the system resorted to hindering these purposes and turned the growth of that school backward.

"Never will it be possible for the Indian to reach his fullest development into real competing American citizenship so long as he is compelled by the system of his education and training to only compare himself with himself. This alone makes it quite impossible for him to get beyond his Indian life. To free the Indian and consummate his citizenship by giving him the proper environment and such education and training as will make him equal to his freedom, every system whatsoever (including purely Indian schools), which favors his remaining tribal and segregated should be abandoned, and the widest opportunity out into our civilization substituted.

"'The contact of people is the best of all aducation.'

"The way has always been open for people of all races to cross great oceans and come and live among us, through which fraternity they quickly become acceptable citizens to our and their great advantage. The same course would have brought the same usefulness to the Indians and saved their manhood. Nobody can say the Indian is less competent than these other races for this true process has been litle tried on him.

"All right experience shows that the Indians are just as capable of development and usefulness in all respects as we are.

"If one-tenth of the more than five hundred millions of dollars we have spent in driving the Indians away from contact with our civilization and keping them remote and segregated tribally had been used in kindly helping them to come among us, and in training them individaully, just as we do all foreigners and our own people into useful members of our national family there would now be many more, far healthier, more prosperous and happier Indians in the country and the burden and expense of special care over them be ended.

"This sane and most American course would have been highest proof that our Declaration of Independence and Constitution are not empty and alluring mirage.

"We all as Americans have a share in the shame of every wrong and the glory of every right national achievement. Long ago we should have put our energies at work to change our Indian administration into a national honor and so have ended its career as a national disgrace?"

Our Forlorn Indians

An Address in Behalf of the Indians, at the Thirty-fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, October 18, 1916.

[REVISED.]

General Pratt Answers His Own Question—"What Is the Matter With Our Indians?" Based on a Great Variety of Experience With a Great Variety of Indians.

[Says the Philadelphia North American: General R. H. Pratt, Gallant Soldier, Educator, Humanitarian, Is the Founder of the Famous Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Probably More Than Any Other Man in the History of the nation, General Pratt Influenced Public Opinion to a Humane and Just consideration of the Indian Problem.]

GEN. PRATT: Mr. Chairman, Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, and friends of the Mohonk Conference: I have crossed the continent to be at this Conference. I went to California with Mrs. Pratt a year ago, expecting to return the first of October, and we found it so pleasant that we concluded to remain there through another winter and avoid the harsh climate we have here in the East.

My interest in the Indians has been a very long one.

Forty-nine years ago last June, as an Army officer, I began to have duties over them, and I have been responsibly considering their case ever since.

I have had a great variety of experience with a great variety of Indians.

I have dealt with members of more of the tribes than any other individual man.

From the very beginning of my experience I saw the Indian as a man and a prospective citizen, and to this end opposed tribal segregation and favored merging them into becoming a very part of our peoples.

My dealings with them through all the years have established this as the only true course beyond a peradventure.

The particular message I have felt it important to deliver here relates to the indurated segregating Indian system and that system's abominable treatment of them.

The Reservation was and is a prison system established to end their nomadic life and resources, and this the Indians of the southwest resented by ruthlessly raiding and marauding their section of our frontier.

These acts brought on the wars of 1868-1869 and 1874-1875, through both of which I commanded Indians as scouts and guides.

During the latter it was also my duty under the orders of General Sheridan to put irons on nearly 100 Indian prisoners indicated as frontier marauders of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes at Fort Sill, and to care for them in prison and also to take care of nearly 700 others—men, women, and children of their families and followers held in prison camps.

It was made my duty to take 40 of the most turbulent of these Kiowas and Comanches and 34 more from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes of the same sort while thus in irons to Florida and to remain in charge and train them to

such civilized living as was possible during their three years' imprisonment.

They were not tried.

The constitution of the United States which provides that "no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," was not observed in their case.

I early removed their irons and did what I could to ameliorate their condition.

During two years and a half of this prison life I dispensed with the military guard by organizing the younger prisoners into a company with sergeants and corporals as sub-commanders, drilled them to include the school of the company, gave them guns and had them guard the old fort and themselves.

There was no failure or breach of discipline during that whole period and I had their utmost confidence and most energetic obedience throughout.

It was not the fault of General Sheridan or the War Department that they were not duly tried. It was not by any means the only arbitrary incident of that kind in the history of this government.

I have visited during these years, many tribes.

I know well the dealings of the government with them.

I have at least fair knowledge of the efficacy of the various systems of the government's work for the Indians, and of missionary work among them.

Yesterday the missionary who was permitted to speak out of turn repeated his annual criticism of the returned non-reservation student.

He seems to be all the time looking for the graveyards in which the returned students are buried.

I wanted to do to him what I once saw an Indian Chief do to another Chief who dashed into camp on his horse when the women and children were dancing and having a good time, and drove them all off the dance field.

The principal chief then stepped up to him and asked him where his graveyard was, and at that, all the Indians laughed and the fellow, though drunk, was humiliated and the dancing resumed.

I think when anyone, especially a parson, attacks a system, he should present something at the same time that has been proven better.

I wanted the gentleman to state how his converts succeeded when sent into the same environment to live their new life which the returned student is remanded to.

I have known all these years of Indians—plenty of them—who through passing under missionary influences, both religious and educational, had gained some competence, but who, having to live in their old surroundings, dropped from their estate, I don't say high estate because Indians do not reach a very high estate under tribal environment.

We have a great national seal on which is an eagle and "E Pluribus Unum."

I call your attention to the fact that the bird of freedom is passing; We have shot him to death and nearly destroyed his race.

We fail to protect our emblem.

Is it ominous?

Get the new nickel and look at the face of the Indian, and see just in front of his eyes the one great American word, "Liberty." Consider, read, investigate, get to the bottom of his case, and show me, if you can—where in all the history of our dealings with the Indian, we have given him liberty and any material right help to fully develop into real civilized manhood and independent citizenship.

My friend, the Chairman (Rev. Samuel A. Eliot) because of his location through all his life, at the very center of intelligence—(Laughter).

THE CHAIRMAN: I lived in Seattle and Denver most of my life (Laughter.)

GEN. PRATT: There, you see he is endeavoring to evade the issue (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It's true it is not most of my life (Laughter.)

GEN. PRATT: But anyhow he reached manhood under Boston and Harvard auspices, and perfect as he is and we all admire him for his discrimination and what he says here so wisely; had he gone through the same Bureau and tribal mill that grinds the returned students without any recourse or escape from it more than they have, he would be like them (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There are some mighty good fellows among them, Sir.

GEN. PRATT: That's right; all they needed was the same chances you had and have and they would be a tarnal sight better (Laughter.)

I met one of the Board of Commissioners last night.

Immediately he began to say things that went against my reason and experience.

He said in effect—"It took you and me four thousand years to get our civilization and we must not expect the Indians to reach it any quicker."

I in effect replied:

"I will rest all the reasons for what I say and what I think about the right way to help the Indians to progress into civilization rapidly upon what was presented to this Conference yesterday in the person of the Indian priest. He was born a Chippewa in a little Indian hut in Wisconsin. He went to school on the Reservation a little while and then escaped from that hindrance into the public schools. He tells me that those who went to the Reservation School with him and remained on the Reservation are still tribal and dependent Bureau Indians. He was taken out and surrounded by an environment that developed his mind and powers and gave him the logical thought and force he has shown here, so that we are glad to hear him. I have heard him speak a number of times and every time he says things that people ought to hear. He grew up in Catholic environment and has been kept in that until he is saturated with it, and that fact never fails to appear. I am not criticising; I am just showing you a fact. His Reservation schoolmates who are still living those dependent Reservation lives among the Indians could all as easily have been helped forward into equally large force and usefulness, and might easily have become as competent examples as he is to contend for righteousness."

On the way here I stopped at Blackfoot, Montana, and found 24 former Carlisle pupils who had returned to their homes 20 years ago, after being at Carlisle for short periods; most of them not over five years.

They gathered around me with most gratifying attention and a number deplored the limitations of reservation life and methods.

Most of them owned cattle.

I was the guest of one who had 1500, and I never saw bigger, fatter and better beef cattle.

A train of 42 carloads raised by those partly educated Indians and their fellows was shipped to Chicago just a few days ago, under the care of an Indian.

My host was to take them but a snow storm came on, and as he had his large herd to protect, he stayed at home and let his brother-in-law go in charge.

He told me he had "always been his own best hired man."

He writes that his brother-in-law gave him $100.00 a head for his shipment of 236.

He has a ranch of 36,000 acres which he rents through the Bureau from the tribe, for which he pays the same as a white man.

He has a neat home presided over by his wife, one of the very best of Carlisle's school daughters.

This Mohonk does not provide better meals than I had in that home, cooked by this former Carlisle student and her adopted daughter, nor does this place show any cleaner, nicer arrangements, nor more orderly conditions, and the same can be said of the outbuildings and everything connected with that Indian ranch.

Alas, that this able man, though native through long American ancestry, is not an American citizen.

Again alas, that on the same Reservation, side tracked out of common observation on a barren section, there are four or five hundred neglected people receiving so little attention and real help that they have retrograded into sad misery.

These extreme conditions prevail on nearly all of our Indian Reservations.

The Indian system ought to be judged, not so much by the few slowly advancing instances it parades as by the forlorn conditions it has engendered almost everywhere.

This conference began with a Bureau presentation.

Such presentations should be estimated by the results in useful citizens; and I mean whether they are the lauded (by their authors) "epoch Indian schools" just now being further evoluted but whose effect will continue to serve—just as the past Indian Schools have been made to serve—to prolong Bureau control over the tribes and race; or having the "babies born in hospitals," and then in their mothers' care, remanded back to grow up in the ills of unremedied shack life; or the field matrons, who have for thirty-five years been vainly trying the impossible to teach decent home making to hundreds of Indian women in forlorn hut or teepee homes, and scattered over hundreds of square miles; or the agents so minutely dominated by inexperienced managers from their comfortable Washington offices whose energies are mostly bent on devising the herding of the Indians under their permanent and enlarging Bureau care.

The Chairman recalls me to the Board of Commissioners, and I am going to say a few things.

THE CHAIRMAN: Faithful are the wounds of a friend.

GEN. PRATT: I have known the Board of Commissioners from the very beginning.

Get the report of the Indian Office for 1869 and you will find that two members of the first Board quote an order I had the honor of framing in regard to the introduction of whisky into the Indian Territory, when acting as Adjutant General to the Commander of that District, General B. H. Grierson.

Wm. E. Dodge Pere of New York and Felix R. Brunot of Pittsburg, both most "Eminent for intelligence and philanthropy," members of the first Board, came to Fort Sill accompanied by their wives in the summer of 1869. It was made my duty to help them see the Indians and forward their plans. To reach our post they travelled 350 miles in spring wagons having a necessary escort of two companies of Cavalry.

The real duty of the Board of Indian Commissioners is little served in this splendid place, though I must admit that I join heartily in the appreciation of Miss Dawes, who said yesterday to my daughter that she hoped this Indian Conference would never end, at least so long as she was on the planet, for she wanted to be here every year. The hospitality of it is beautiful, delightful, grand and always has been.

To my observation, only one member of the Board of Indian Commissioners shows material activity in getting

into the sad conditions of our Indians and then fearlessly telling it in print and speech. I honor him for that. I cannot always accept all he says nor does he always find and publish the full truth as I see it. However, I pass that by.

Now the remedy. What is the remedy?

Simply that all Indians have the same individual chances for development into useful citizenship, in the same citizenship environment that every immigrant and other inhabitant of the United States receives and all segregating and bureauizing be abandoned.

We invite foreigners to come and be of us until we take in a million a year.

Our Indians are only 300,000, many of whom are mixed bloods so white as to be hardly recognizable as Indians but they are held equally with the full bloods, segregated under a tenacious Bureaucracy decade after decade whose every scheme seeks and encompasses all having Indian blood into dependent Bureau Indians.

One Indian agent, under department authority some years ago, began to drop his Indians from Bureau care, because they were English speaking and capable and had their lands in fee.

That went on until nearly 400 were off the rolls, and only about 25 of the aged and helplessly infirm were left enrolled.

Not long ago the Indian Office reversed that action and said to a later agent: "It is not the policy of this office to drop enrolled Indians and you will take them all up again on your roll and look after them."

You see even competent Indians must remain under Bureau supervision.

Forty years ago the Bureau required $4,000,000 annually to take care of the Indians.

Twenty years later its appropriation had grown to eight million dollars.

Now it requires the enormous sum of twelve million dollars annually to maintain its endless segregating and tribal enforcing policies.

You can not make a man a man unless you give him a chance to be a man.

Lowell made Hosea Bigelow give the quintessence of it all when he said:

"The great American Idee,
Is to make a man a man and then to let him be."

Make each Indian a capable citizen and quit coddling him.

This ends it and is as easy and practicable of accomplishment for all Indians in the United States as it is for all our other people.

Our immigrants segregated under an Indian Bureau system in nationality masses would just as slowly merge into American citizens.

Now I think that what I know about the bad reservation conditions—what I have seen and more, every member of this Board of Commissioners ought to see with such determination as to make it impossible for any agent to hoodwink them by taking them in his governmental automobile and showing them the best things and keeping them away from the worst. Then you would have first hand facts, and could do something that might move the United States to take higher grounds in its work of making our 300,000 Indians into productive citizens.

The Indian has only and always needed somebody to take him by the hand and say "My brother, come up beside me and let us walk along the path of life together, and be the brothers we are according to the good book and be the fellow citizens we ought to be according to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

By the endless devises of the Indian system and the churches and the Board of Indian Commissioners (Laughter) and the Indian Rights Association (Laughter) and the National Indian Associations and the Sequoia Leagues and all of that sort, the Indians are to be forever segregated tribally on small areas away from any fair chance to develop, largely subject to the exploitation of those organizations with largest inducement to remain tribal Indians in this their native land.

In most of what we are doing and not doing, there is little else but outlook for enforced and perpetual dependence and increasing disease.

Is Mrs. Newton here? Good, I am glad you are here.

I met Mrs. Newton in Blackfoot.

She had been there as the head of the Field Matron Service of the Government of the United States for six months, working with a doctor and nurse, treating cases of tuberculosis and trachoma on that reservation, trying to cure them through leaving them in the environment and conditions that have brought them under the curse of these diseases.

She told me since she came here that they issued 4,000 towels, about two to each Indian.

Go to their teepees, their miserable huts. I mean the down and out ones, and note the sarcasm of the process—the before and after of it.

They administer medicine, operate, issue towels and then quit that field and go on to the next in an ever increasing round of failure.

Did 60 per cent have trachoma, did you say, Mrs. Newton?

MRS. NEWTON: About 65 per cent.

GEN. PRATT: About 65 per cent of the people on that reservation have trachoma; before the inactivity, poverty and dependence of reservation life and the evils of idleness, insufficient and poor rations, trachoma was not noticeable and they had wonderful eyesight. About 50 per cent have tuberculosis.

MRS. NEWTON: About 20 or 30 per cent are infected.

GEN. PRATT: In some places, it is 50 per cent. Trachoma, tuberculosis, all of it the result of the Indian system's treatment of the Indian.

In the past we have had a man talk to this Mohonk Conference, who afterwards became Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who then sent young doctors to Carlisle and Haskell to find out the origin of tuberculosis and trachoma, among the Indians on the reservations. He had long opposed non-reservation schools, and resorted to this and other like methods to discredit them.

A great deal is said about "lands for the landless Indians in California."

I have been looking into that.

Up near Manchester, California, there is a little band of 84 Pomo Indians.

The lady teacher gave me the names, ages and activities of all of them, men, women and children.

I was there two weeks, and saw their poverty and sad condition.

The Government of the United States has, under pressure from California, given hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy "lands for the landless Indians of California" and I instance this one transaction and the condition, which represents a majority of the other communities.

These Indians occupied the same land for generations but it had never been reserved to them by the United States, and the white man came and preempted their homes and even their graveyard which was ploughed up, and they had to move.

They went down near the river a half of a mile away onto land too poor for white men and this California Society got some friend to pay for 40 acres of that almost worthless side hill and river channel land, and then under the Bureau's system, 75 acres more adjoining it and of the same kind was bought at a preposterous price by the Government.

I was with a farmer near for two weeks and went over to see the Indians repeatedly.

This farmer said—"Not a man in this community with a wife and two children would undertake to make a living for himself and family off of that 115 acres of land."

I agreed to his views.

If some fearless investigator, keen to detect fraud and wrong could be sent to California, and go through all these recent land transactions and find out the quality and what has been paid and the real value and the utility of the land, and expose the facts and wrong, much would be learned about why the Indians fail to progress.

A Commission of three politically unafraid Army Officers having high rank and long experience with Indians, to go through not only the California cases but the whole Indian system throughout the country and expose the fatuity of it all, would to my mind best meet the needs and outline a remedy for the tangled conditions.

I was at a vast cattle ranch which employs the men and takes care of a small band.

It is a company having 284,000 acres on which they keep 30,000 cattle.

Their cow boys are from the Indians who were living on that land more than forty years ago.

The company pays each Indian $35.00 to $45.00 a month for their services.

These unwisely advised "California Association" people sent their agent there to get these Indians to go some place else and accept of land that they would have the government buy.

The logical effect of this was to disturb and end their chances for the self-support, which they had manfully engaged in for many years.

The people were getting on very well, and could easily be uplifted where they were.

They had a school house, a little Catholic Church to which the priest came periodically, and they had fair Indian homes with small fields and gardens.

As the land all belonged to the ranch, the Indians had only rental privileges which included grazing for their cows and horses, for all of which each family paid the pittance of an annual rental of $1.00 per year.

They had been paying that for years and were satisfied.

This California Indian Association movement made them discontented, and for what result?

They would come under the close care of the Bureau and so increase the number of dependent Bureau Indians.

It was another illustration of the indurated policy which ceaselessly gathers in and segregates under its care all our people of Indian blood away from all progressing opportunity except that which it doles out.

I want to be on this Board of Indian Commissioners (Laughter).

I would like to be authoritatively behind the doors and be able to get at and expose the wrong of Indian management.

If I had my way I would make every meeting of this Board an open, public meeting, where everybody could go in and know what is said and done, because it is the public's business, for which the public pays.

However, I am ineligible, because not "eminent for intelligence and philanthropy" which General Grant made the law require.

The Indian Committee of the Senate of the United States makes up the Indian Bill every year in public.

All that is said, and every vote on every feature of the Bill is acted on by this Committee in the presence of everybody who cares to come to the Committee room.

Anybody can get up at any stage of the proceedings and say anything they desire on any item of the Bill as they are passing upon it.

They keep open house, which is good business, righteousness and United States.

Friend Smiley, you and your predecessor have been kind enough to invite me to these Conferences all the years, and I am thankful.

I came here first 33 years ago to one of the first, if not the very first meeting, and have been to quite a good many since.

I believe I have had more sensations out of these Conferences than anybody else. (Laughter).

Your good brother took me by the hand several times and said:

"Capt. Pratt, more and more do I believe that you are right. What we have got to do is to bring these people in among us and make them citizens; give them all the chances we give everybody else and that will end it."

When he said that, I would begin to see the beginning of the end, for does not the Board of Indian Commissioners, the head and front of it approve?

And I would go back to Carlisle full of hope, thinking what I contend for is surely coming to pass.

They would get out a platform and then when I went to Washington and talked to members of the Indian Committees about it, I found most of them indifferent and saying:

"It doesn't amount to anything, they don't know what they are talking about," and that was about the substance of it all.

If that is a hit at the Board of Commissioners, you can accept it that way, Mr. Chairman, but that is the fact.

The English Government when it undertook Southern Africa and had to deal with the negroes there, organized a large Board of Commissioners to give ample time to make widest inquiry throughout the field and find out all the conditions.

In the Library of Congress is a bulky document—the report of this Board, telling all the conditions it found and recommending what ought to be done with the native peoples.

Among the members were distinguished men known over the world and the questions and answers all recorded, and when votes were taken the vote of every individual member and the way he voted, and that members explained why they voted this or that way; you will find just how and why they settled every point.

The most prominent men then living in South Africa were on the Commission; men that by experience knew the ground and also men from the general headquarters of the Government in England, so that sure information and best action was guarded. We have never done anything like that for our Indians, but we gladly come to Lake Mohonk year after year and platform the Indian problem, and then go home and wait anxiously to come back to the gracious hospitality next year and do it all over again. (Laughter and applause).

* * * * * * *

GEN. PRATT: May I say another word?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes sir.

GEN. PRATT: I do not feel as though I had advanced a tithe of what are to me the perfectly logical reasons why our Indians are in such sad case.

THE CHAIRMAN: He's got out a railroad table. (Laughter).

GEN. PRATT: No, this is not a railroad time table, but is an Indian School Teachers' Convention time table. At Mohonk in the beginning of the Civil Service propaganda I wanted to give my experience with it. That was in the early day. There was a champion of that innovation here who was riding into power on his alleging its lofty results. I wish I could stop and give you some of the variations between his then preaching when he had no power and his after practicing when he came into power. I was dealing directly with it. I had people sent to me by the Civil Service, whom I was not permitted to know anything about until after they were appointed and had reported. Their Service efficiency and religion were a sealed book to me until after they had reported for work. I did care a little to know about their ability and especially their reverence for their Creator, because I was managing a school requiring special care and trying to do it, so far as possible with the favor of the Almighty and I liked to know that I had people to help me who respected Him. Some of those sent, had no such respect, and I wanted to say something at Mohonk about it but was headed off. There are people here now who were here then. At that time, I walked out with Dr. Abbott and his brother and my friend, Dr. Lippincott, Chancellor of the University of Kansas, after the forenoon meeting. We were holding meetings then in the afternoon. This man was to speak in the afternoon, and I said, as we sat in one of those beautiful places out there for young people (Laughter) that I wanted to say something about the bad results of Civil Service. Soon after we came back, Senator Dawes, came and said: "Captain, Dr. Gates (who was presiding), came just now and wanted me to ask you to keep quiet about Civil Service, saying Civil Service is bound to win and it will hurt you if you say anything against it: I told him I wouldn't do anything of the kind; that I thought just as you did; that I knew your difficulty and thought you were right. Then Gen. Eaton came and said practically the same thing. When I tried to speak the chairman ruled me out of order. Now I just want to read you some advertisements: I cut them out of a great National illustrated magazine down in the library a little while ago. Civil Service early descended to this low plane, where employees are found to do our government work by lures of a base sort. The magazines and newspapers of this country contain scores of such advertisements; listen:

"WORK for Uncle Sam. He is the best employer. Big pay, sure work, easy hours, long vacations, rapid advance. Thousands of jobs open this year. I will help you get one. Write for my big free book, DY-29, today, Earl Hopkins, Washington, D. C."

A suspicious place for that information to come from—very easy for Earl Hopkins to be in communication with the underlings in the Civil Service office and know just what the questions are to be and then arrange the answers for incapables at $10 per head. Here are two more:

"Government positions pay big money. Get prepared for examinations by former U. S. Civil Service Examiner. Write today for free booklet '99. Arthur R. Patterson, Rochester, N. Y."

Help Wanted—Thousands Men and Women, 18 or over, wanted everywhere, for U. S. government life jobs, $75,000 month. Steady work. Short hours. Rapid advancement. Common education sufficient. Write immediately for free

[illegible] positions easily obtainabl[illegible] Franklin Institute, Dept. A 138, Rochester, N. Y.

By inference these are Government advertisements. Think of any other great employer advertising for help and using such questionable allurements. I had weak employees sent to help me at Carlisle, who told me they had obtained coaching to pass civil service from these people for $10 each. I take a magazine which has from 14 to 20 such advertisements each month.

I just came from Rochester; my daughter lives there, and met an educator who told her "We are educating the young people in our school to take examinations for Federal positions." The Lord, help us when our schools undertake such inspirations of the ambitions of our youth.

Mr. Peairs is in the audience. He spoke Wednesday about his summer schools. I have here the "Time Table" of his summer school at Chemawa, Oregon which lasted ten days. I want to leave this with the Secretary, to put two forenoon programs into the proceedings, to be followed by the letter I shall read. This letter was written by me to an Indian in the U. S. Senate. There are two of his class, both of whom I count my friends, so I omit his name.

TWO SAMPLE FORENOON PROGRAMS

Wednesday, August 2nd, 1916—Forenoon.

7:15 to 7:55.

Hygiene and Sanitation
Penmanship
Library Methods
Lace Making
Drafting

8:00 to 8:40.

Library Methods (Cont)
Drafting (Cont)
Lace Making (Cont)
Primary Methods
Arithmetic

8:45 to 9:25.

Library Methods
Lace Making
Drafting
Farm Carpentry
Farm Masonry and Concrete
Reading

9:30 to 10:10.

Library Methods (Cont)
Lace Making (Cont)
Drafting (Cont)
Farm Carpentry (Cont)
Farm Masonry and Concrete (Cont)
Reading
English

10:15 to 11:50.

Library Methods
Lace Making
Drafting
Farm Carpentry
Farm Masonry and Concrete
Physical Training
Horticulture
Domestic Art
Shoe and Harness Repairing

12:00 to 1:00 Dinner.

Thursday, August 3d., 1916—Forenoon.

7:15 to 7:55.

Hygiene and Sanitation
Penmanship
Library Methods
Lace Making
Drafting

8:00 to 8:40.

Library Methods (Cont)
Lace Making (Cont)
Drafting (Cont)
Primary Methods
Arithmetic

8:45 to 9:25.

Library Methods
Lace Making
Drafting
Farm Carpentry
Farm Masonry and Concrete
English
Reading

9:30 to 10:10.

Library Methods (Cont)
Lace Making (Cont)
Drafting (Cont)
Farm Carpentry (Cont)
Farm Masonry and Concrete (Cont)
Reading
English

10:15 to 11:50.

Library Methods
Lace making
Drafting
Farm Carpentry
Farm Masonry and Concrete
Physical Training
Domestic Art
Domestic Science
Agronomy

12:00 to 1:00.

Dinner

San Francisco, Cali...
July 31, 1916.

My Dear Senator:—

I am sending you with this a program for a convention of Indian Bureau School employees from a large district to be held at the Chemawa Indian School, Oregon. It is one of six similar conventions, with like programs, in the Indian service this year. I send this that you may see the quality of work the Bureau lays out for such conventions. The convention at Chemawa begins July 31st and ends August 11th.

The forenoons are divided into five periods, each forty minutes long, with intermissions of fine minutes, aggregating fifty periods. The subjects to be discussed in each period are fixed in the program. In order that you may see the points for which I desire your attention, I have assembled the times each subject appears for discussion, and here are the results:

Lace-making	50
Drafting	50
Library Methods	50
Farm Carpentry	28
Reading	19
English	19
Farm Blacksmithing	15
Farm Masonry and Concrete	14
Hygiene and Sanitation	10
Penmanship	10
Arithmetic	10
Primary Methods	10
Physical Training	5
Superintendent's Conferences	5
Shoe and Harness Repairing	4
Domestic Art	4
Domestic Science	4
Embroidery	3
Club Work	1
Poultry	1
Horticulture	1
Agronomy	1
Animal Husbandry	1
Dairying	1

By the above you will see that Lace-making, Drafting and Library Methods are to occupy the attention of these school people during each period, or fifty times. By the methods of the government in alloting lands, the Indians are all to be farmers. Note that Poultry, Horticulture, Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, and Dairying, appear only once in the whole fifty periods and are, therefore, given only one-fiftieth the significance which Library Methods, Lace-making and Drafting occupy. The girls are to become farmers' wives. Note that Domestic Science and Domestic Art appear only four times each, and therefore receive less than one-twelfth the significance of Lace-making, Drafting and Library Methods. The whole performance is a sarcasm.

I have taken some note of its value during the more than twenty-years Lace-making has been pushed on the Indians, and have this to say—that in its rewards to the Indian for the labor expended it is insignificant, it is not for them a healthy occupation and enslaves them commercially to the lace dealers and the lace wearers of this country. It binds the Indian women to this occupation to the minimizing of more womanly duties and is an additional influence to perpetuate Bureau control. In no case within my knowledge, do the Indians, themselves, transact any of the business in securing the implements, material, originating the styles, or disposing of the manufactured lace. Like the recently inaugurated school fads of teaching and selling in the Indian schools their manufactured articles of the so-called "Indian Arts" of "basketry," "pottery," "beadwork," "blankets," etc., the result, if not the object, is to keep the Indians in exclusive racial lines, and apart from the rest of our popula-

along, and is
ill continue to be, t nity of their
gement. The importa things that will occur to
practical mind that ought to be discussed, such as, "How can we best put the Indian on his feet as an independent, self-supporting citizen?" and other things contributory to that object, find no place whatever either forenoon or afternoon in these conventions.

The government money and the government time of these employees used by these conventions, I do not hesitate to say is more than wasted, for they keep Indian youth segregated under exclusive systems of education, and prevent the immediate and quick ability for American citizenship, which would be theirs if environed and immersed in our common sense public schools and American life as all foreign emigrant children are. Indian youth find welcome in all our schools of every sort when properly prepared therefor.

I say reverse the system. Quit feeding homeopathic doses of perverted America to tribally segregated Indians, and feed the Indians as individuals to our America, and America will quickly accomplish their transfer into useful citizenship. The mania for special and separate organizing and control, and for fine Indian school plants, especially on reservations, with their fad systems are giving us "whited sepulchres" in which we bury the race within itself.

How far better for employees, pupils, and the government and quicker in every way, is the method urged on the department for years, to have Indian school teachers, and employes attend the State and County Conventions of school people in their localities, and go to the various special summer schools each year for added equipment, thus keeping them in touch with the best, and help the forwarding of Indian youth into the public schools.

You are what you are solely because you escaped from tribal hindrances into American opportunity. Does not that appeal to you as ample to guide into legislating for a like liberty and chance to all Indian youth now that you are such an influential member of the Indian Committee of the U. S. Senate?

Cordially and Sincerely Yours,

I thank you very much for giving me this additional opportunity (Applause).

Note. This address as printed in the Mohonk proceedings is largely abbreviated and much censored.

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

Union Theological Sem. Library
New York City
N. Y.